

A SHORT
VIEWV OF THE

Long Life and Raigne of
HENRY the Third, King
of ENGLAND.

Presented to King IAMES.

Printed. cl^o l^o cxxvii.

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VIEW OF THE

Long Life and Reign of

HENRY THE SEVENTH

OF ENGLAND

Presented to King JAMES.

Printed by J. B. C. xvii.

A Short view of the long Raigne of
Henry the third.

Wearied with the lingering calamities of Ciuill Armes, and afrighted at the sudden fall of a licentious Soueraigne, all men stood at gaze expecting the euent of their long desires (Peace) and issue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in euery shift of Princes there are few either so meane or modest that please not themselues with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various daungers of his fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of Pembroke, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after whilst *De Burgo*, that fast seruant of his Fathers a-

*Hist. minor.
 Math. Paris.*

began

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gainst

gainst the *French*, both in *Normandy* and
England. with *Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*
 and others oflike grauity and expe-
 rience did manage the Affaires. Few
 and no other were the distempers then
 in State, but such as are incident to all,
 the Commons greedy of liberty, and the
 Nobillity of Rnle, and but one violent
 storme raised by some old and constant
 followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent de*
Fertibus and others, men that could onely
 thrive by the warres, mistaking those dayes
 of sloath: (for so they termed that ealme of
King Henries gouernement;) and there-
 thor because the iustice of quiet times vr-
 ged from them to the lawfull owners,
 such Lands and Castles as the fury of war
 had vniustly giuen them, for finding in
 the vprightnesse of the King, that power
 of protection should not be made a wrong
 doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that
 with it, ended their liues and competitors;
 professing that those their swords that
 had set the Crown vpon their Soueraignes
 head

Math. Paris.
 Hist. maior.

Hist. Sancti.
 Albani.

head, when neither Maiestie nor Lawe could, should now secure those small pittances to their Maisters, when Maiestty or Lawe would not. Dangerous are too great benifits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merrit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the state after this feele, but such as is incident in all, the mallice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greatest in trust of publicke affaires are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deeme themselves lesse in imployment then they are in merrit. These vapours did euer and easily vanish so long as the helme was guided by temporate spirits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Councell, and not to young passionate or single aduise.

Thirty yeares now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *de Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length

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of

*Chron. de Daufr
Iean. de VVal-
ingford.*

of dayes giuing him the aduantage of so'e power, his owne Ambition and Age gaue him desire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of most, and that encreased in the Title of Earle, & great Offices the King then gaue him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it selfe, so in the hearts of the people, a Reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the supfeit of long peace; perchance hauing let in some abuses, from hence, the Commons to whom dayes present seeme euer worst, commend the foregone ages they neuer remembred, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy.

Chron. de Litch
field.

To these idle and vsuall humors, fell in some of the young and noble spirites, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by sullyng the wisdome of the present and greatest rulers, (making each casuall mishap their Errors:) seeme to decypher euery
ble.

blemish in Government, and then by holding certayne imaginary and fantasticke formes of Common-wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any State, to these generall rules, which in particular application will proue idle and grosse absurdities.

Next confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a *Qualité Couen* fittime to worke themselves into action, and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for, and doubtlesse the furthest of their ayme was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had beene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Consilia senum hastas iuvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Nouandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affayres, eyther denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotijs*, and
not

not *supra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Math. Paris.
Hist. minor.

Amongst this vnequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard Earle of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merrit of their Fathers, whose memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Runcmeed* the Armies met. And of the

Cron. Perri Pe-
stanien.

Gentry, *Fitz-Geffeory, Bardolph, Grisley, Maunsell* and *Fitz-Iohn*, spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleene, as the places from whence they were elected Campe, Court, or Countrey, could afford any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one sayth of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aus*
flexum

Math. Paris.

flexum in vesperum die

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the rest, Gentle-men, by Forraine education and imployment, more quallified then vsually men of these Times; and that set vppon their owne deserts, the best places when the Stream should turne, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did vnworthily obtayne, for he dyed in actuall Rebellion, *Iusticiarius Anglie*, against his master) advised that the best meanes to remooue that great and good obstackle, the Earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sisting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest beeing driuen out by the worst, they shalleyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will bee euermore visible, as hee is more potent, and remooue him at pleasure; or else giue over the King to such Ministers, to their bad

Cicero in Catta-
line Orat. prima.

desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smoothe them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Reipublica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus Counsell heard, approoued and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mony and opinion, of encrease of power.

Lib. Bermondsey
Vita abbatis sax-
oni albani.

Articles are in all hast forged, and vrged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; wast of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtfull times held capitall) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Soueraigne and the Subiects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the subject to pay as the Record sayth, *Non iuxta singulorum facultatem; sed quicquid Iusticiarii estima-*

Lib. Bermondsey
vita abbatis sax-
oni albani.

bat. Well? hee cleared himselfe of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for

for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are euer the ruines of their first Inventors; bad times corrupt good Councells, and make the best Ministers, yeelde to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot passe blamelesse, that would so easily blemish all former merrits, of so good a seruant, for that wherein himselfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloyd then others, more transitory their fauours, and as their mindes are large, so they easily ouer-looke their first election, tying their affections, no further then their owne satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State; chooseth his chiefe Instrument, *Peter De Rinallie*, a man like himselfe, displaceth his natiues, and draweth *Poitions* and *Brittons* into Offices of best vult, and benefit; and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the English, then to haue strangers rule ouer them, of

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Regis Roffen.

Annalis de Nly.

this mans time, *Wendouer*, an Author then living, sayth, *Iudicia committuntur in iustis Leges ex legibus Pax discordantibus iustitia iniurijs*. Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleare, and had not the discreeter Bishops calmed all by dutifull perswasions, and informing the King that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his Father, *Normandy* the loue of his people, and in that his Crowne) would by reaching the sonne to reject in passion the just petitions of his loyall Subjects, (as of late the Earle of *Pembrooke* his Earle Marshall of *England* the due of his Office) driue all the State into discontent by his bad advise, and corrupt manners; doubtlesse the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper, as their designe was, in a ciuill Warre.

Denials from Princes must bee supplied with gracious vsage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it; but best it is, that all fauours come

come directly from themselves; denials
and things of bitterness from their Mi-
nisters.

Thus are the strangers all displaced and
banished, *Riual* extortions ransackt, by
many strict Commissions of enquiry; the
Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that
Nulla qua sita scelere potentia diuturna; and
that in Princes fauours there is no substi-
tute betweene the highest of all, and
precipitation. The Lords still frustrate of
their malicious ends, beganne to sow
of these late grounds of the peoples dis-
content, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe*
sermones & quæq; alia verba vulgi, and
ooke it vp a fashion to endear and glori-
fie themselves with the fencelesse multi-
tude, by depraving the Kings discretion,
and Governement, whose nature too
gentle for such insolent spirits, was for-
ced (as *Trenus* sayth) to seeke as he present-
ly did, advise and loue amongst strangers,
seeing no desert could purchase it at home,
all bore themselves like Tutors and Con-

Claude, anno 37
H. 3. M. 26.
Chron. Hall.

b. iii

trollers,

trollers, few like subjects and Councellours. God wee see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Counsellors as the quality of the subiect merriteth.

Chron. Litch.

Math. Paris
Roger VVen-
douer.

For *Mouniford* a *French-man* became the next Obiect of the Kings Delight, a Gentle-man of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraigne did so much Doate, that at his first entrance of Grace, in enuy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of *Leicester*; and in no lesse offence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gaue him his vowed, vailed, sister to wife. More of Arte then vsually some haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Chron. Ioan.
Sulgrave.

Mouniford made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maister, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and suddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne hands

hands, all fauours must passe from him, all preferments by him, all suites addres-
sed to him, the King but as a cypher set
to adde to this figure, the more of number.
Great is the Soueraignes errour, when the
hope of subiects must recognize it selfe
bee holden to the seruant, which ought
immediately to bee acknowledged, from
the goodnesse and good election of him-
selfe: Though Princes may take about
others some reposefull friend, with whom
they may participate their neereft passions;
yet ought they so to temper the affayres of
their fauour, that they corrupt not the
effects of their principallities.

At this the great and grauest men began
to grieue, knowing the vnworthy with-
out honour, or merrit, thus to deale a-
lone in that which should passe through
their hands, and to leape ouer all their
heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices,
and therefore runne along with the then
rising grace of the Kings halfe brethren,
(though strangers) hoping thereby to
deuide

deuide that power, which otherwise they
saw impossible to breake.

chron. Reading.

Leicester confident of his Maisters loue,
and impatient to beare eyther riual in fa-
uour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all,
but findeth in his ebbe of fauour, the For-
tune of others, and that this King could
euer as easily transferre his fancy as he had
setled his affection. Great we see must be
the arte and cunning of that man, that
keepees himselfe a floate in the streame of
Soueraignes fauour, since the change of
Princes wils, which for the most part are
ful of fancy and soone satiate are hardly ar-
rested: Who so would effect this, must on-
ly attend the honour and seruice of his
Maister, and dispoyled of all other re-
spects, transforme himselfe into his in-
ward inclination and worke into necessi-
ty of employment, by vndergoing the Of-
fices of most secrecy, eyther of publicke
seruice, or princes pleasures, he must al-
so beate downe Competitors of worth by
the hands of others, conceale his owne
greatnesse

greatnes in publicke, with a faigned humi-
lity, and what impotency or gouernment
he affecteth, let it rather seeme the worke
of others, out of conueniency, then any
appetite of his owne.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this
advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords,
and put alone into the hands of the Kings
halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfrey, and
William*, himsele as before, *Et magna For-
tuna licentiam tantum vsurpans*: For to act
his owne part, hee was ever wyerdrawne
when hee had such worthy servants as
would often for his Honour vrge it. For
these Masters (as *Willingford* termeth them)
*Tanta elati iactantia quod nec superiorem sibi
intelligunt, nec parem molitiu & molitiu adu-
lationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis
a ratione tramite declinantes*, do alone what
they list. They fill vp the place of Iustice
and Trust, with their Country-men, stran-
gers, exact of whom, how and what they
they please; waste the Treasure and Crown
Lands on themselves, and their followers,

Hen. Knighton
Mon. Leicest.

Wil. de Risham
87.

Lib. Monastery
Ramsay.

set prices on all offices, and rayne the Lawe within the rule of their owne Brefts. The vsuall reply of their seruants, to the playnts of the Kings subjects, beeing *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; these strangers seemed in their Lawlesse carriage not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by Conquest: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing, yet least the King should heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such access: Suspition beeing the best preseruer of her owne deserts, aymeth at these, who hath more of vertue then themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of gouernement in a King, when it falls to bee prey to such Lawlesse Ministers, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State, all take

take warrant generally from Princes weakenesses, of licencious liberty, and greatnesse makes profit particularly by it, and therefore giue way to encrease ill, to encrease their gaynes.

A Famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writes to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos famia media deficientes: Famine procedes, Fames praecepit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure possit, provincias peruagare:* For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the Lawlesse Multitude: Who *Per diuersas partes itinerantes velut per Consensum aliorum,* (as the Record sayth) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had giuen some heat to that commotion. Seditious Peeres bringing euer fewell to such popular fires.

Claus. anno 43
Hen. 3.

Chron. London.

Wilde Rißbanger

Neyther was the Church without a busie part in this Tragicke worke for *Walter Bishop of Worcester*, and *Robert of Lincoln*, to whom *Mouniford* and his faction, *Præcordialiter aaherebant* were farre ingaged. In such designs, Church-men are neuer wanting, and the distaste of the present gouvernement, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will euer bee a knot of strength for such vnquiet spirits, who aswell frame to themselves some other forme of gouernment; then the present in the Church, as in the temporall state, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suite the peoples humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

A fayre pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to vse their bitter pens and speeches; so farre agaynst Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence
of

of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at home; for hee enjoyed the Earle of Leicester in *Remissione peccatorum* or Path. Paris. *causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem* Wil. de Rissbanger *Ecclesie Anglicane nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

True Pitey binds the Subiect to desire a good Soueraigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserue abatement, then resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade vs in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties, in difficult poynts of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a safe and secure knowledge, wee may relye vpon them.

To supresse these troubles, and supply

*Barth. Colon.**Chro. Norwic.**Chro. Worc.*

the kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to releue the King as they did to acquiet the State, their ende at that time beeing onely to open at home the pouerty of their Maister, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to braue out their owne passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

*M. Paris:**Wendower.*

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the publicke State in taking to his priuate election the Iustice, Chancelour and Treasurer, that should bee onely by the Common Councell of the Realme, commending much the Bishop of *Chichester* for denying deliuery of the great Seale but in Parliament where hee receiued it.

*Wallingford.**Paris.*

They blame him to haue bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on strangers, and to leaue the *English* vnrewarded, to haue vndone the trade of *Mer.*

Merchants by bringing in Maletools and heauy customes, and to haue hurt the common liberty by *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for priuate fauorites.

That he hath taken from his Subiects *quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis Rusticorum enim equos bigas vina victualia ad libitum cepit.* *Wil. de Rishengr.
Chron. Sancti Albani.*

That his Iudges were sent in Circuits vnder pretext of iustice to fleece the people, *Causis fictitijs quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Purflowe had wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest vnder preience of encrochments or assarts, great summes of money.

And therefore they wonder that he should now demaund reliefe from his so pillled and polled Commons, who by their former extremities & *per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur vt nihil aut parum habeant in bonis.* *Gual. de Coventry.* And therefore adui-

sed

Wil. de Rishanger

Chron. Litchf.

Hist. minor.
Wil. de Rishanger

Epist. Robert
Lincolne.

Math. Paris.

led him, that since his needlesse expence,
Postquam regni cepit esse dilapidator, was
 summed vp by them to aboue 800000. l.
 It were fitting to pull from his fauourites,
 who had gleaned the Treasure of his
 Kingdome, and shared the olde Lands of
 the Crowne, seeing one of them there
 whom the Lords described to bee *Miles lit-*
teratus, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in
 short space from the inheritance of an acre,
 growne to the Possession of an Earledom;
 and *Manfel* another inferiour Clarke that
 (besides 50. promotions with the cure of
 soules) rose to dispend in annuall reuenue
 4000. marks, whereas more moderate Fees
 would haue become a peir-man, no better
 quallified then with the ordinary fruits of
 a Writing Schoole; yet if a moderate sup-
 ply would suite with the Kings occasions,
 they were content to performe so farre re-
 lief in Obedience, as the desert of his
 carriage should merrit toward them: And
 so as the Record sayth, *Dies datus fuit in*
tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos
suos

*suos corrigeret & Magnates voluimus ejus ob-
temperarent.*

At which day vppon new grant of the
great Charter, admittance to his Coun-
cill of some persons elected by the Com-
mons; and promise to releye vppon his
Natiues; and not Strangers; for aduise
hereafter; they spare him such a pittance
as must reye him to their Devotions; for
a new supply.

Mach. Page.

Regis Rossen.

Iohan. de VVal-
lingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were e-
uer a medicine to heale vp any rupture in
Princes fortunes; are now growne worse
then the mallady; for from thence more
mallignant humors beganne to raigne in
them, then well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the
intents of his rebellious Lords; and find-
ing that the want of Treasure was the
way whereby they enthralled his Maiesty;
begins now to play the good husband; clo-
seth his hand of wast; and resolues him-
selfe (too late) to stand alone; such expe-
rience is pernicious to the priuate; and

Chron. de Leic.

dan-

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dan-

dangerous to the publique good of a state, when it neuer learns to doe, but by vndoing, and neuer sees order, but when disorder shewes it. Yet still alas, such was his flexibillity when hee came to bee pressed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaste desires, and endlesse waste. So that an Author then living, sayth, it became a by word, *our Inheritance is conuerthed to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessive in guifts, are excessive in demaunds, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Favours past are not accompted, wee loue no bounty but what is meerely future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himselfe in giuing, the poorer he is of friends: For such prodigallity in a Soueraigne, cuer ends in the rapine and spoyle of his subjects.

Yet before the King would agayne submit himselfe, at hee had the last Parliament, to so many braues and strict inquiries

quires of his disloyall subiects; he mea-
neth to passe through all the shifts, that
extremity of neede, with greatnesse of
minde could lay vppon him. He begin- *claus. anno 46.
or 47. Henry 3.*
neth first with sale of Lands; and then
of Jewells, pawneth Gascoyne, and after
that, his Imperiall Crowne; and when
hee had neyther credit to borrow, (ha-
uing so often fayled, the trust hee had
made,) nor pawns of his owne, hee
then layeth to pawne the Jewells and Or-
naments of St. Edwards Shrine; and in the
end, not hauing meanes to defray the
dyet of his Court, was enforced to breake
vp House, (and as Paris sayth) with his
Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus et
Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia qua sunt et
prandia.*

This low ebbe which agayne the Kings
imprudence had brought him to, gaue
great assurance to the Rebellious Lords,
that they should now at the last, haue
the Sovereigne power, lest they should
lose it.

ambitious desires, and to bring it fa-
ction, they desire nothing more, then to
see the Kings extremitie. Constrainne a
Parliament, for at such times, Princes are
ever lesse then they should be, subiects
more.

Wil. de Rishan-
ger.

To hasten on the time, and adape the
the meanes, there are sowne certayne fe-
ditious rumors, that the Kings necessi-
ty must repayre it selfe vppon the fortunes
and blessings of his people, that ha-
uing nothing of his owne left, hee
might and meant to take of others?
For Kings may not want, as long as
the Subjects haue meanes to sup-
plye.

This tooke fire, just to their mindes,
and wrought a litle moouing in the
State, which doubtlesse had flamed high-
er, if the King had not asswaged it by
Proclamations, wherein hee declared
*Quod quidam mali uolunt sinistra predicantes,
illis falso suggesterant illam quæstionem in-
bito gloriari, ac iura & libertatos Regni*
sub-

claus. anno 49
lib. 3,

*suberiere, & per suggestiones illas dolosas, & omnia falsas eorum corda in sua malidicti-
one, & fidelitate auerterent, but desireth,*
that *Huiusmodi animorum suorum perturbationibus ne finem adhiberent,* for that hee
was neuer ready to defend them from
the oppression of the great Lords, (*Et omnia iura & Consuetudinis eorum debitas
bonas, & Consuetas, in omnibus & per om-
nia plenius obseruare,* and that they may
rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera,
litteras suas fecit patentes.* But seeing still
that Maiesty and right subsist not without
meanes and power, and himselfe had of
neyther, so much as would stop the pre-
sent breach in his owne wants, or his
subiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the bo-
some of his people, for reliefe and Coun-
cell.

At Oxford they met in Parliament, *Parl. Oxon.*
where his necessity, met so many vnde-
tiffull demands, that he was forced to ren-
der vp to their Rebellous will, his Royall
power.

Math. Paris.

Chro. Wore.

Chron. Litchf.

Heere the Commons knowing that,
Quum eligere inceperunt, they were *Loco
 libertatis*, stood with the King to haue
 the managing of the State, put to the
 care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by
 their election, (whereto they looke strict-
 ly) and the other by him, who in all
 things else, was left a Cypher, and in
 this, whether by feare, or remissenes, fil-
 led vp his number with Mountford, Glo-
 ceſter, and Spencer, which besides the
 weakening of his owne part, wonne to
 thoſe his late opposites, an opinion of
 great intereſt they had got in his fauour,
 hee now hath left neyther election of
 publicke office, nor priuate attendants,
 his halfe brethren and their followers, he
 muſt diſpoyle of all fortune, and exile by
 preſcription vnder his owne hand, com-
 maunding his Writs, *Pro transportatione
 fratrum ſuorum*, to bee directed to the
 Earles of Hartford and Surrey, and not to
 paſſe cyther their Money, Armes, or Or-
 naments, *Niſi in forma quam dicti Com-
 mites*

mittere iniunxerent, and after their departure
 enjoyned the men of *Bristol*, that they Clauſ. anno 49
Hen. 3.
 ſhould not permit any ſtrangers, *Sine*
propinquos Regis applicare in portu, but ſo
 to behaue themſelues therein, that as
 well the King, *Quam Magnates ſui eos*
merito debeant commendare.

Thus wee ſee how eaſily mens eſtates
 doe change in a moment, and how
 hard it is to make uſe of things ill got-
 ten.

Richard Elect of the Empire, the Kings
 full Brother, and then beyond Sea, muſt chron. Sancti
Albani.
 bee wrought by Letter, as his free deſire
 to confirme by Oath thoſe former reſtri-
 ctions of regall power, which though
 performed, yet would the Lords ſuffer
 neyther the one or the other, to enter
Douer Caſtle (the Key of the Kingdome) Reg. Roſſen.
 which they had furniſhed, as moſt of
 the other Fortes of reputation in the
 Realme with Guardians of their owne,
 ſworne reſpectiuely to the State; and then
 taking the like aſſurance of al the Shrieſſes,
 Bayliſſes,

Hagon

Act in Scia.

Wll. de Rishanger.

(31)
Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publicke Ministers, searching the behauour of many by strict Commission vppon oath, to winne opinion in shewe among the Vulgar, who groaned vnder their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after prooued, by displacing the faythfull Scrquants of the King, to open away, to their owne dependants.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State beleue, that this forme of limited pollicy, they had vterly suppressed the minde of man, for euer dreathing more vppon the imaginary humours of lycencious Soueraignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now euery man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on euery designe, that might enlarge his power and commaund.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the bopy of the Crownes, and regall

regall signiories, all such royall suitors as
 neighboured any of their owne seats, *Rot. Parlia in*
 whereto they enforce their seruice, and so *Scacc.*
 (as the Record sayth) *Ad sectas indebitas,*
& seruitutes intollerabiles subditos Regis
compulerunt : Thus raysing meane man-
 ners to become great Honours, and ren-
 tering asunder the regall iustice, they made
 themselves of so many subiects whilst
 they liued in duty, *Totidem Tiranni* (as the
 Booke of Saint Albans sayth) when they
 had lest their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt* *Rot. Regis in*
Scacc. 56 H. 3
Magnates Regni, super subditos Regis serui-
tutes & oppressiones, which they bore pa-
 tiently; for excesse of misery hauing no
 ease but Custome, made men willing to
 lay the foundation of servitude by the
 length of sufferance, which found no
 ease nor end, vntill the quiet of this Kings
 Reigne.

Mountford, Gloucester and Dispenzer, *Wallingford.*
 the Heads of this Rebellious designe,
 hauing by the late promisions drawne to
 the hands of the twenty foure Tribunes

of the people, the entire managing of the Royall State; and finding that power too much disperced to worke the end of their desires, forst agayne the King to call a Parliament, where they deliuered ouer the authority of the twenty foure vnto themselves, and Create a *Triumvirate, non Constituenda Republicæ causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne endes, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publicke was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is neuer so high, but she thinkes still to mount, that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a stepp to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Chro. de Dunst.

Ordinar. inter Reg. Lond.

These three elect nine Councillours, and appoynt *Quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *Et de alijs Regni negotijs*, the chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer,

furer with all Offices, *Maiores & minores*,
 they reſerue the choyce of to themſelues,
 and bind the King to this hard bargayne
 vppon ſuch ſtrong ſecurity; that hee is
 contented vnder the great Seale, and
 Oath, to looſe to them the knot of Regall
 duty, whenſoeuer hee aſſumeth to him-
 ſelfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus* chron. Origin.
de Regno noſtro contra nos, inſurgere & ad (abſ. ſilla.
grauamen noſtrum opem & operam dare ac
ſi nobis in nullo tenerentur. This prodigy
 of fortune on whom ſhe had ſet a pittifull
 example of her inconstancy, finding no
 part of his Sovereignty left, but the bare
 Title, and that at their leaue, beggeth ſuc-
 cour from *Ryba the fourth*, agaynſt his
 diſſoyal ſubiects.

The Pope by his Bul cancellerth his Oath,
 and contract, and armpeth him with Ex-
 communications agaynſt all thoſe that
 retorne not with ſpeecke, to their due and
 old Obedience, ſince promiſes made by
 men, which cannot ſay they are at liberty,
 are weak, and force hath no power
 to make juſt intereſt.

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The

Chron. Litch. The Lords on the other side that had
Wil. de Rishanger. impied their winges with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of Monarchy, made head against their Sovereigne, and to make him the better, called in ayde, some French forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned agayne her sword into her owne bowells, and invited her ancient enemy, to the funerall of her liberty; so that it was a wonder she should not at this time passe vnder a forrayne servitude. And though these men were more truly sensible of their owne disgrace, then of others misery: Yet found they no better pretext for priuate interest then that of the publicke.

And therefore at the entry of this war, they cryed liberty, although when they came neere to an end, they neuer spake word of it.

Wil. de Rishanger. At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeauours a reconciliation, but in vayne, for perswasions are euer vnprofitable, when Iustice is inferiour to force.

The

The sword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldest Sonnes Prisoners : The person now aswel as the regall power ; thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neyther bond of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatnesse (which now beganne to break out betweene these mighty Riuals,) gaue hope of, for *Leicester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage, then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the same power, is euer fatall (wee see) to all great actions : For to fit mindes to so euen a temper, that they should not haue some motions of dissenting is impossible.

Mountford hauing thus broken all faith with his Confederates, and duty to his Soveraigne, left the path of moderation

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and

to wisdom to come to the King by that
of pride and distrust. To him he telleth
that his Armes and ends had no other ob-
ject euer but order of the State, and ease
of the people, that hee did not in this,
carry affection against duty, but well
knew how to reyne his desires, to his
just power, and so no lesse to his Maiesties
content, if hee would be ruled; which
was to commaund the Fortes and Castles
of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the
rest into his hands. It Was hard to this
King thus to take a Law from his inferi-
our, but necessity in Soueraigne affaires
doth often force away all formallity; and
therefore this poore Prince, who now
at the Victors discretion, seemed to haue
beene onely raysed to shew the inconstan-
cy of fortune and vanity of man; suited
himselfe with incomparable wisdom,
according to the necessity of the time,
Neyther did humillity wrong Maiesty,
when there was no other meanes to con-
taine spirits so insolent but dissembling.
He therefore summoneth in his owne per-
son

son the forts of his falsest friends, to yeeld
 to his greatest enemies. This hee enters
 in shew as his lodging, but in effect his
 Prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme
 against his friends, and to receiue now
 Lawe from him, to whom hee lately
 thought to giue it. Thus *Leicester* is be-
 come a darling of the common rout, who
 easily change to euery new Maister, but
 the best durst not sayle along his Fortune,
 by the light of his glory: Christall that
 fairly glistereth doth easily breake, and as
 the ascent of vsurping royalty is slippery,
 so the top is shaking, and the fall fearefull.
 To hold this man then at the entry of his
 false felicity fully happy, was but to giue
 the name of the Image, to the mettle that
 was not yet molten, for by this the im-
 prisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assu-
 red of *Glocester*, by the knot of his
 great minde, and discontent, and both
 with the torne remainder of the loyall
 Army vnited, and by speedy march ar-
 riued vnlooked for, nere *Engsbam*, to the
 vnarmed

vnrmed troupes of the secure Rebels, whom they instantly assailed for it, was no fit season to giue time; when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

Dispencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speede for mercy, but could not breake out, beeing hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publicke motions depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we must beware of running downe steepe hills, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme might haue escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that hee could neyther forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making aduersity the exercise of his vertue, hee came, and fell.

BRITANNIA

The

The King by this blessed fortune freed,
 and obeyed, began to search the ground
 of his former misery, and why that ver-
 tue and fortune that had so long settled
 and maintayned vnder his ancestors the
 glory of his Empire, had cast her in his
 time off, and conspired with her Enemies
 to her almost ruine, as if they Genius of
 the state had quiet forsooke her; Here he
 findes his wastfull hand had beene too
 quicke both ouer the fortunes and the
 blessings of his people, the griping Aua-
 rice of his ciuill Ministers and lawlesse li-
 berty of his Martiall followers, the neg-
 lect of grace, and breach of his word, to
 haue lost his nobility at home, and ne-
 cessity, his Reputation abroad, by ma-
 king Merchandize of peace, and warre
 as his last refuge, so leauing his old Allies
 became enforced to betake himselfe to
 persons doubtfull, or iniured, and that
 by giuing ouer himselfe to a sensuall secu-
 rity and referring all to base greedy and
 vnworthy Ministers whose counsell

Rot. par. 53.
 H. 1. M. 52.
 Rishangers.

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were

were euer more subtile then substantiall,
he had throwne downe those pillars of
soueraignty, and safety, Reputation a-
broade, and Reuerence at home.

10. Tuxeter,
Mon. Bury.

Hee now therefore making sweetnesse
and clemency the entrances of his re-
gayned Rule for the faults of most of the
later rebels he forgot a gracious kinde of
pardoning not to take knowledge of of-
fences, others he forgot, that they might
liue but to the glory of his goodnes, for
the fewer killed, the more remaines to a-
dorne the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51.
52. H. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure Kings
for necessity, yet least his Iustice and pow-
er might to much suffer in his grace and
mercy, some few hee punished by small
fines some by banishment, as the two
guiltlesse yet vnpittied sonns of the Arch-
traytor. Treason so hatefull is to the
head, that it draweth (we see in this) the
carriage of the innocent children into an
euerlasting suspect, and what is suspicion
in others is guilt in them: Vpon the con-
stant

Clauſ. 51. H. 3.
M. 29.

stant followers of his broken fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his Enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake meanes to win loue, for it lost more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiuer and detracteth from the iudgement of the giuer, and blunted the Appetites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and seruice: Thus at last he learned that reward and reprehension iustly layd doe ballance gouernment, and that it much importeth a Prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the scale. Chro. Duff.

In himselfe hee reformed his naturall Errors, Princes manners though a mute law haue more of life and vigour then those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch vpon the verge of vice hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His court where in at this time the faults

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of

of great men did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receiue true comfort, and authorrity, for their crimes now became examples, and customes, hee purged very iudiciously and seuerely; since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common state.

*Ordinat. auibor.
Reg. aule.
Clau. 53. H. 3.
Rithanger.*

Expençe of house he measureth by the just Rule of his proper reuengew and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his Subjects blood; the insolency of his Souldiers made lawlesse by the late liberties of Ciuill armes he spendeth in forraigne expedition. Hauing seene that the quiet Spirits vnderwent all the former Calamities, and the other neuer were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would if they had no enemies abroad seeke out at home as they had done before.

*Pat. 53. & 54.
H. 3.
Comment. de
Trailbaston.*

The rigour and corruption of his iudiciall Officers he examineth, and redreseth by strict Commission; For the sence of

of their scueritie, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The seates of Iudgement and Councell he filled up with men nobly borne. For such attract with lesse offence, the generous spirits to respect and reuerence. Their Abilities he measureth not by fauour or by Priuate Information as before, but by publike voyce for euery man in particular may deceiue and be deceiued, but no man can deceiue all, nor all one.

And to discouer now his owne Capacity and what part he meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions he sitteth himselfe in Councell daily, and disposeth Affaires of most weight in his owne person. For Councillors be they neuer so wise or worthy are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State: their Office must be subjection, not fellowship in considerations of moment, and to haue ability to aduise, not authority to resolve.

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For

Foras to liue the Prince must haue a particular soule so to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one hee can neuer be truly man, without the other he shall neuer be securely a Prince, for it offendeth aswell the minister (of meritt) as the people to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatnesse, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull Change to the generall State (so hopelesse lately to recouer her former libertie, they sought now for nothing but the mildest seruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of Greatnesse vpon popular loue, must giue them ease and Iustice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receiue.

Barth. Cotton
Chron. Norw.

This peace attended euerafter his Age and hearse and hee happily liued to fashion his sonne and successor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and

auehoritie ; whose owne hard education
 trayning him from that intemperance,
 which makes men inferiour to beasts :
 framed him to affect glory, and vertue ;
 which made him superiour to men. So
 that all the Actions of his future Raigne
 were exact grounds of Discipline, and
 pollicy ; for his best successour to rule by
 after, who as he was the first of his name
 since the Conquest, so was he the first that
 settled the law and state, deseruing the Stile
 of *Englands Iustinian*, and freed this King-
 dome from the wardship of the Peeres,
 shewing himselfe in all his Actions after,
 capable to Commaund not the Realme
 onely, but the whole world.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemics
 more then our owne discretions, make
 vs sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.